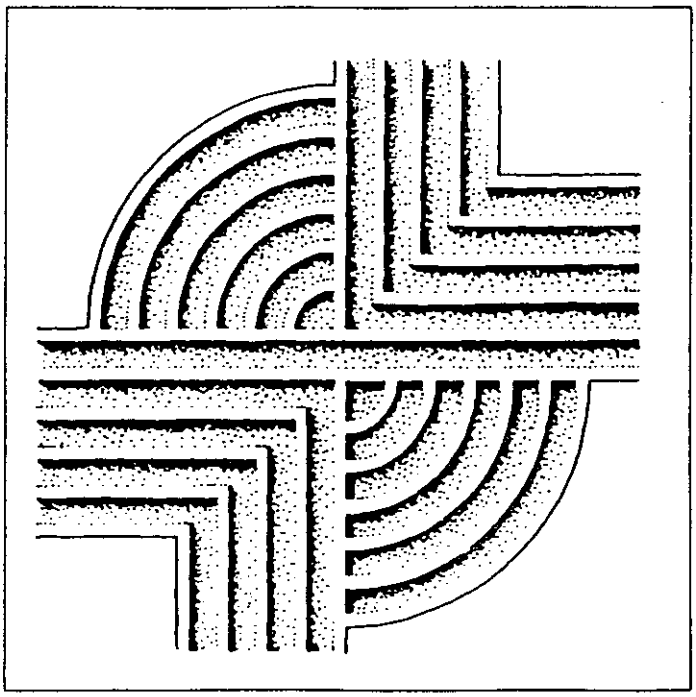
ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA RECOVERY EXCAVATIONS AT 38CH1107, KIAWAH ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 178

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA RECOVERY EXCAVATIONS AT 38CH1107, KIAWAH ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA

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ABSTRACT

This report documents and describes the results of archaeological data recovery excavations undertaken for Kiawah Resort Associates at 38CH1107 on Kiawah Island in Charleston County, South Carolina. It was conducted in compliance with a Memorandum of Agreement between Kiawah Resort Associates, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office.

The site was originally identified by Brockington and Associates as a large, disturbed Middle Woodland scatter with a small historic component thought to be associated with the occupation of the nineteenth century Shoolbred Plantation (38CH129). Chicora's data recovery excavations have documented a historic component which predates the posited construction of the Shoolbred Plantation and is more likely associated with the Stanyarne Plantation, built in the early eighteenth century.

Initial investigations, which incorporated auger tests and a metal detector survey, suggested that the site had been heavily and deeply plowed. This was confirmed by the excavation of 250 square feet of contiguous units, which exposed an agricultural ditch, as well as modern plowscars. The plowzone varied from 1.0 to nearly 1.2 feet in depth.

The recovered artifacts suggest an ephemeral structure, most likely inhabited by a black slave. One scenario is that the site represents the remains of a dwelling of an African-American cattle tender. Once abandoned, the site was first cultivated as part of the Shoolbred Plantation and continued as farm land into the twentieth century.

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Although this was a relatively short field project, it was made successful by the diligence, enthusiasm, and dedication of the field archaeologists, including Ms. Natalie Adams, the field director; Ms. Liz Pinckney, who has worked with us on nearly all of our Kiawah projects; Mr. Ryan Borea; and Mr. Niels Taylor, who has gone on to serve as one of the State Historic Preservation Office's staff archaeologists. I also want to thank Ms. Debi Hacker for her dedication in the analysis of the collection, as well as conservation of selected materials.

We have also received continued support from Ms. Sharon Pekrul, during the curation of the collections at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and Mr. Keith Derting, during the process of updating site files associated with the site. I appreciate their continued professionalism, kindness, and cooperation.

Finally, to all of those others who participate, offer an occasional kind word, or otherwise support the efforts, I want to offer my deepest appreciation.

INTRODUCTION

Background

A Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement between the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and Kiawah Resort Associates (KRA) was developed in late 1990 (signed by the Advisory Council on September 6, 1990) to protect historic and prehistoric resources on Kiawah Island. The agreement stipulated that archaeological sites determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places would be either green spaced or subjected to archaeological data recovery excavations prior to any development activity.

An initial survey of the 56 acre Rhett's Bluff tract was conducted in 1989 (Poplin 1989). This study identified seven sites, five of which were recommended for inclusion on the National Register. One additional site on the study tract had previously been placed on the National Register. Data recovery excavations have previously been conducted by Chicora Foundation at three of these six sites (38CH124, 38CH125/126, and 38CH129) (Trinkley 1993). In early July 1993 KRA requested that Chicora prepare a data recovery plan for a fourth site, 38CH1107. This plan was submitted to KRA on July 19, 1993 and was approved on December 6, 1993. Notice of the proposed undertaking was provided to the Charleston District Corps of Engineers, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the S.C. SHPO on December 10, with a request for any comments. Chicora was verbally informed of the Advisory Council's approval of the research design and the Charleston Corps notified KRA that they had no comments on the work.

Archaeological investigations at 38CH1107 were begun by a crew of five on January 3, 1994 (which included the project's Principal Investigator, Dr. Michael Trinkley). The work continued through January 7 for a total of 179.5 person hours. A management summary of that work was provided to KRA and the S.C. SHPO on August 15 and September 30, 1994 respectively.

The laboratory work and analyses for this project began in February 1994, with the work directed by Ms. Debi Hacker. Artifact conservation was conducted at the Chicora Foundation laboratories under the supervision of Ms. Hacker, Chicora's Conservation Administrator.

This work was conducted on Kiawah Island, about 3300 acres in size, which is situated about 14 miles southwest of the City of Charleston and 13 miles northeast of Edisto Island in Charleston County. It is bordered to the north and west by the Kiawah River, to the east by the Stono Inlet and River, and to the south by the Atlantic Ocean. The island is separated from neighboring Folly Island to the east by the Stono Inlet, from Seabrook Island to the west by the Kiawah River, and John's Island to the north by the Kiawah River and associated marshes (Figure 1).

The background and archival research specific to the work on Kiawah Island was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley, Ms. Debi Hacker, Ms. Natalie Adams, and Ms. Liz Pinckney intermittently over a period of nearly six months in early to mid 1991 and has been discussed in an earlier Kiawah study (Trinkley 1993). This current report will only briefly review some aspects of that earlier study.

Although development activities on Kiawah Island will be phased, the remainder of the island is anticipated to be opened for residential development within the next two to five years. The current project is designed to facilitate the expansion of the Rhett's Bluff development, begun after the conclusion of our initial Kiawah study (Trinkley 1993). The development activity will involve the clearing, grubbing, filling, and grading

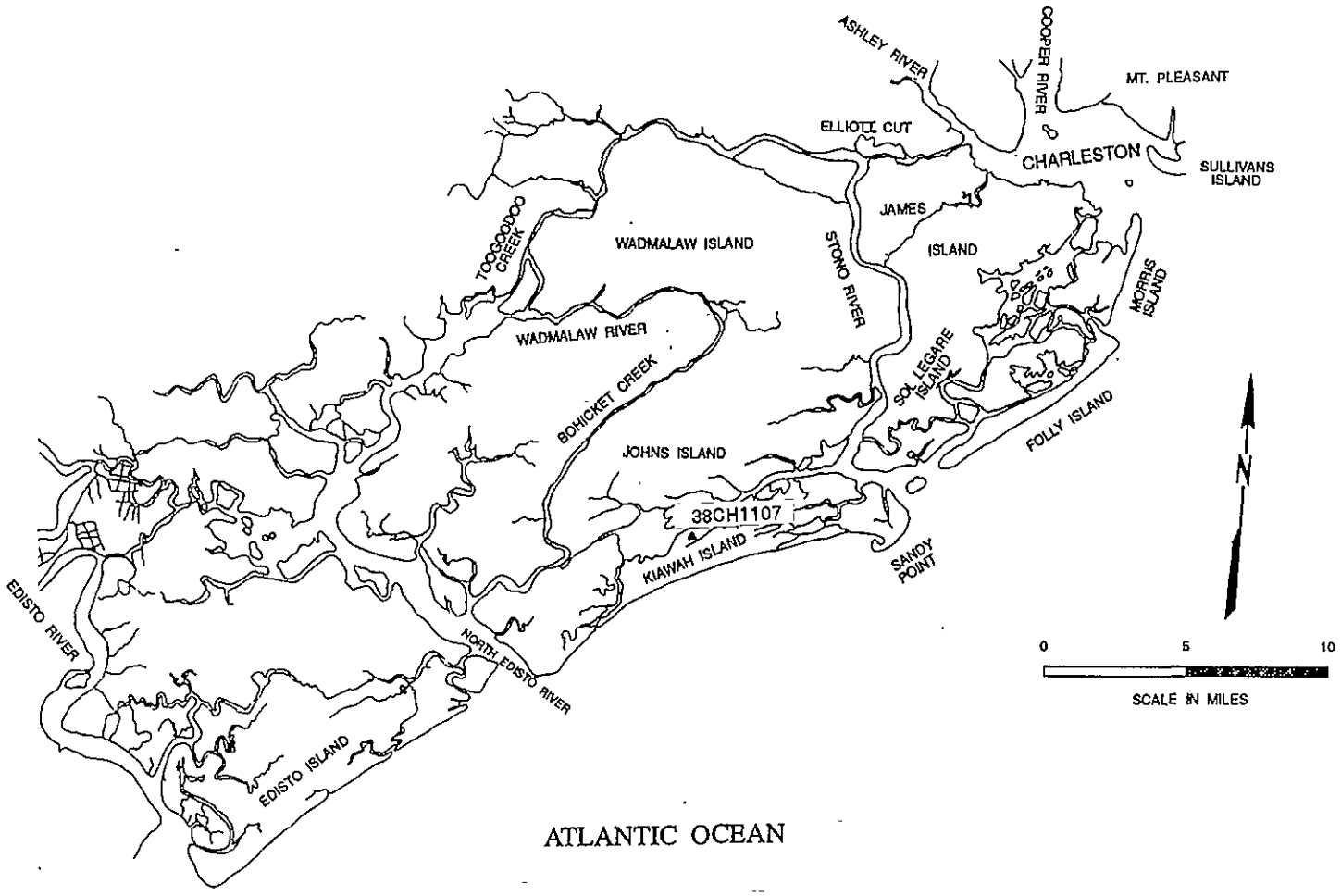

Figure 1. The Kiawah Island vicinity in the southern portion of Charleston County.

of roadways. Construction activities will also include the placement of water and sewer lines, underground utilities, and disturbance caused by house construction on individual lots. These activities will result in considerable land alteration with potential damage to archaeological and historical resources which may exist in the project area.

Research Goals

Site 38CH1107, as previously mentioned, was originally identified in 1989 (Poplin 1989). The site was described in the site forms and report of that survey as being an extensive scatter of prehistoric and historic remains measuring approximately 840 feet north-south by 600 feet east-west. Remains were found in 32 or the 38 tests placed within the projected boundaries of the site and included 87 prehistoric sherds (classified as Deptford and Wilmington series), 10 historic ceramics, one bottle glass fragment, one possible cut nail, and three window glass fragments. The historic ceramics included two Westerwald, two lead glazed slipware, one whiteware, one Rockingham, two colono wares, and two redwares.

The prehistoric remains were found scattered with no clear, intact concentrations and concern was expressed that intact areas may have been destroyed by erosion by the Kiawah River (Poplin 1989:45). A "single concentration of historic remains was encountered near the northern edge of the site" at transects 24 and 25 (Figure 2). These remains suggested "that a small structure(s) may have been present at this locale" which might have been used by a slave (Poplin 1989:45-46).

This historic component alone was recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, based on the statement that the site contained,

> important information . . . for comparing the occupation(s) represented at 38CH129, the primary Shoolbred residential complex and the associated/ancillary occupations that would have comprised the entire social organization of an antebellum plantation. Comparisons to other sites in the region also could provide additional information concerning the lifeways of all plantation residents in the South Carolina Low Country (Poplin 1989:46).

Poplin went on to recommend a data recovery strategy designed to "locate and recover the remains" of this structure using 1.5 foot tests excavated at 16 foot intervals in the approximate area to identify intact features and plot the density of recovery materials. If intact materials were encountered a 20 foot block excavation was suggested to more fully expose the structure (Poplin 1989:57, 59).

The identification of the posited structure as antebellum, we suppose, was based on the single whiteware. The other materials, however, yield a mean ceramic date of 1759.8, suggesting a rather earlier (and perhaps more complex) site. If this early date is correct the site was most certainly not associated with Shoolbred, who acquired his Kiawah holdings in 1797. More likely the site dates from Kiawah's tenure under John Stanyarne, who united the island in 1737 and held it until his death in 1772.

The association of 38CH1107 with Stanyarne is particularly interesting since so little is known of his activities on Kiawah. As will be briefly discussed below, we know that he engaged in indigo cultivation and cattle ranching — two of the more significant economic activities of the early to mid-eighteenth century. Yet Kiawah was not Stanyarne's primary plantation and we have little understanding of his activities on the island or use of its economic potential.

Just as importantly, we have almost no information on how Stanyarne's economic structure may have affected his slaves, or how they lived. Related to another recent project involving an eighteenth century plantation (Broom Hall in nearby Berkeley County), an overview of the archaeology of eighteenth century slave settlements was examined (Trinkley et al. 1995:42-50). While much is known, much more has not yet been examined, especially for this early period of

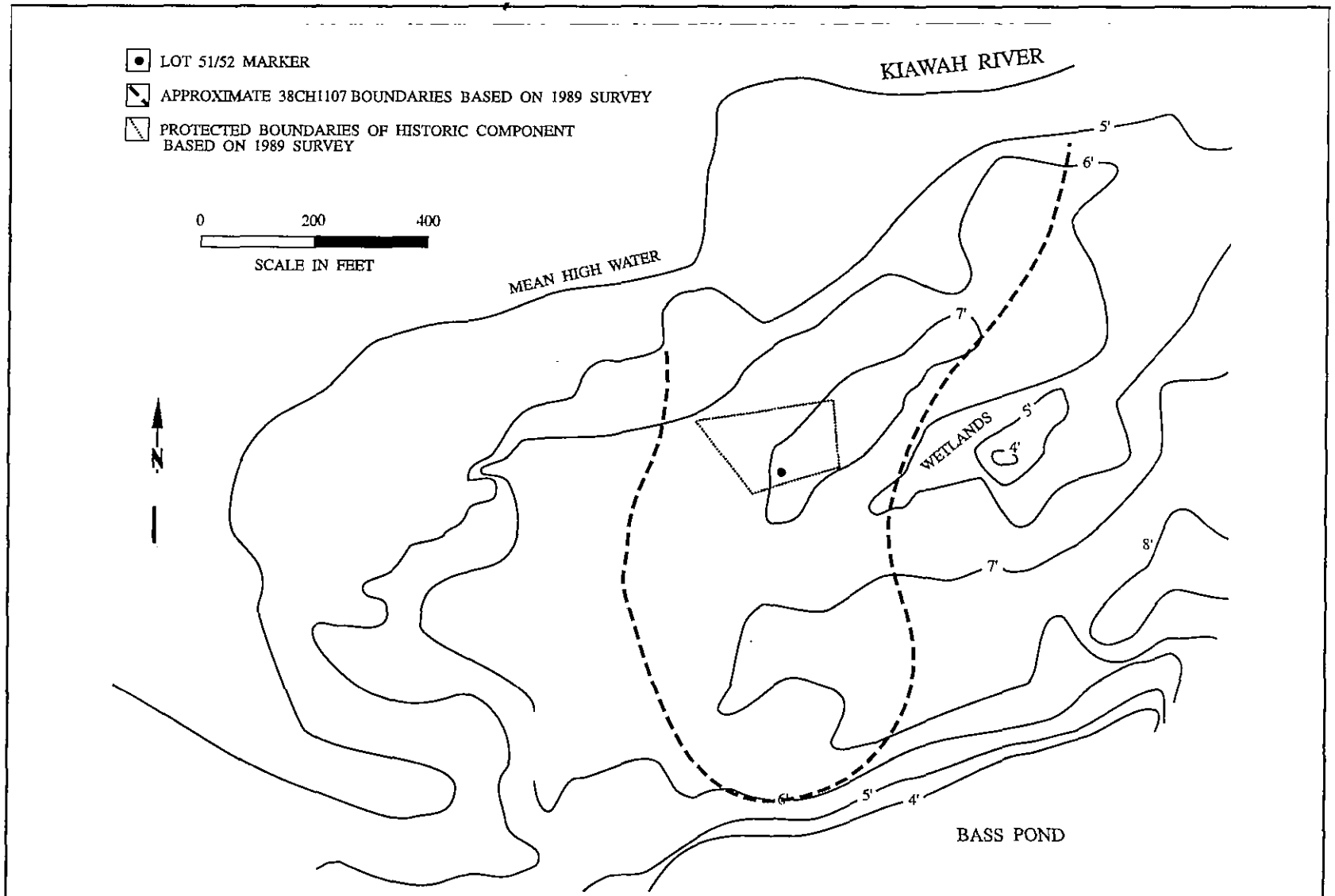

Figure 2. Site 38CH1107 on Rhett's Bluff, Kiawah Island.

Carolina's history. The lives of the early slaves is poorly understood, especially on the remote sea islands such as Kiawah.

Consequently, our fundamental research orientation was explorative. Our interest was in better understanding the nature of this supposedly early site: was it associated with African-Americans? what was its temporal range? could its function be determined? were architectural remains present? what could the site tell us about the lives of Kiawah's early slave population? did Stanyarne's slaves reflect their master's extraordinary wealth? is there any evidence that slaves at this very remote location had greater freedom? Clearly there were a number of intriguing questions. Unfortunately, it was difficult from the survey data to know whether the questions could actually be addressed by this particular site.

The research at 38CH1107 was also of interest since several ephemeral slave sites had been previously identified by Chicora Foundation archaeologists in Beaufort County on Spring Island (Hacker and Trinkley 1991). At one site, 38BU1214, a very small structure, measuring only about 12 feet square, was identified and dated to about 1788. Only 253 artifacts were recovered, in spite of virtually 100% excavation of the structure, and the house was speculated to have been occupied by a single slave who tended nearby fields or perhaps watched over an animal herd (Hacker and Trinkley 1991:108). This site offered an excellent comparison for the results obtained from 38CH1107 and held some promise of allowing us to expand on this dimension of slave life.

Site Environs

Physiography

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier (such as Kiawah), and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). On the island elevations range up to about 25 feet AMSL, while in the vicinity of 38CH1107 the topography is general level, averaging about six to seven feet AMSL and sloping gradually toward the Kiawah River, north of the site.

The mainland topography, which consists of subtle ridge and bay undulations, is characteristic of beach ridge plains. Seven major drainages are found in Charleston County. Four of these, the Wando, Ashley, Stono, and North Edisto, are dominated by tidal flows and are saline. The three with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, forming the northern boundary of the County, the South Edisto, forming the southern boundary, and the Cooper, which bisects the County. Because of the low topography, many broad, low-gradient interior drains are present as either extensions of the tidal rivers or as flooded bays and swales.

Coastal islands are generally placed into three major groupings, based on geomorphology, area, sediment composition, and environment of deposition. The classic sea islands such as Daufuskie, Hilton Head, and James islands, are erosional remnants of coastal sand bodies deposited during the Pleistocene. Some, such as Hilton Head, also have a ocean fringe of beach dune ridges developed during the more recent Holocene period. Barrier islands, in contrast, are composed of alternating beach ridges and low troughs or lagoons oriented roughly parallel to the present shoreline, deposited during Holocene high sea level stands. Marsh islands, such as Raccoon Key and Morris Island, are composed of isolated or widely spaced Holocene sand ridges surrounded by recent salt marsh. They are typically situated in the filled lagoons behind the barrier islands, although they are also found fronting the Atlantic Ocean where erosion has removed the protecting barrier islands.

Kiawah is classified as a barrier island. It is situated between Folly Island to the northeast and Seabrook Island to the southwest. Kiawah is separated from Folly by the Stono River and from Seabrook by the Kiawah River. It is separated from John's Island to the north by an expanse of marsh and the Kiawah River.

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geological formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent

age (Pleistocene and Holocene) lying unconformably on ancient crystalline rocks (Cooke 1936; Miller 1971:74). The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, geomorphic units, or terraces, parallel to the coast. Kiawah Island is classified by Cooke (1936) as part of the recent Holocene terrace, with elevations under 25 feet AMSL.

The work by Stapor and Mathews (1976) found that Kiawah's deposition began at least 2500 years ago and was essentially complete by 1000 years ago. The oldest portion of Kiawah appears to be the Rhett's Bluff area, where 38CH1107 is situated, which is an old Pleistocene Beach Ridge (Hayes et al. 1975).

On an island such as Kiawah, water appears to be plentiful, yet sources of fresh water are scarce. The principal deep water aquifers are the limestone of Eocene age known as the Santee Formation and the sands of Cretaceous age, known as the Pee Dee and Black Creek formations, although these are at depths of 400 to 500 feet and 1600 to 2000 feet respectively. The Santee Formation has been pumped so heavily that there is now a "cone of depression" with the result that chloride levels exceed 400 mg/l in some areas (S.C. Water Resources Commission 1973:100).

Lynch et al. note that colonial wells rarely exceeded 20 feet into the sands which were "everywhere saturated with the water which it received from a rainfall averaging 43.78 inches each year" (Lynch et al. 1882:258). Consequently, wells 12 to 15 feet deep provided "an unfailing supply of water of the very best quality" (Lynch et al. 1882:259). Water quality gradually declined as the population increased and antebellum wells became deeper, although they rarely exceeded 60 feet in downtown Charleston. One antebellum brick-lined well on Daniels Island, about 5.5 miles northeast of Charleston, was only 10.7 feet in depth (Zierden et al. 1986:4-44). Cisterns, in common use throughout Charleston, could provide very safe, potable water, although Lynch et al. (1882:292-293) also found many of the cisterns in Charleston "foul," evidencing high levels of ammonia.

There is extensive documentation of wells being dug on the islands by Union troops during the Civil War. Copp noted:

> in our camp at Hilton Head, every company had its well, by digging through the sand to a depth of from four to six feet, empty barrels would be inserted, and the well as complete, with plenty of water: although brackish to the taste it was not as bad as we were frequently obliged to use in our later campaigns (Copp 1911:94).

On nearby Folly Island Barlow remarked:

> all the water used on the island was obtained by digging below tide-mark and curbing with barrels. The finest and best protected well in camp was made by cutting into a sand dune and making a winding passage to the water, thus placing the water continually in the shade and protecting it from dust and dirt blowing around the camp (Barlow 1899:158).

It is therefore clear that during the historic period wells were in common use, although shallow wells probably tended to be less healthy and more saline.

Within the coastal zone the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils in the study area is affected by this parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate (to be discussed later in this section), the various soil organisms, topography, and time.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the sea and barrier islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of

barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of saltwater during high tides. Historically, marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton (Hammond 1884:510) and Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region, "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

Only six soil series occur on Kiawah Island: Crevassee and Dawhoo association, Dawhoo and Rutlege association, Kiawah, Rutlege-Pamlico association, Seabrook, and Wando (Table 1). Of those soils, only two — the Seabrook and Wando series — are considered well drained. The remainder are poorly drained, except for the Crevassee-Dawhoo association, found in the ridge and trough area of eastern Kiawah Island, which has mixed drainage (Miller 1971). Table 1 reveals that only 22.9% of the island can be considered well drained. Although some of the Crevassee-Dawhoo soils are well drained, they occur on narrow ridges and are not generally suitable for nineteenth century agriculture.

Table 1.
Soils found on Kiawah Island

Soil	% of island	drainage
Crevassee-Dawhoo	41.3	mixed
Dawhoo-Rutledge	5.5	poor
Kiawah	30.1	poor
Rutlege-Pamlico	0.2	poor
Seabrook	7.7	well
Wando	15.2	well

The western and central thirds of the island consist primarily of Wando soils ringing the edge, while Kiawah and Dawhoo-Rutlege soils are found on the interior. The eastern third of the island contains little well drained soil, being composed largely of Crevassee-Dawhoo soils. The bulk of Rhett's Bluff, including 38CH1107, consists of the well drained Seabrook soils, perhaps revealing why this area was historically so important.

While a large portion of the land on Kiawah appears to be unsuitable for most crops, it is clear that adequate drainage could be constructed to make the soils more agriculturally productive. In fact, an 1854 map of Kiawah clearly reveals that soils of Kiawah, Seabrook, and Wando were cultivated on the western third of the island; Kiawah and Seabrook soils were cultivated on the central portion of the island; and on the western third of the island even some limited area of Crevassee-Dawhoo soils were opened and cultivated. Major drainages were apparently oriented east-west, following the natural trough topography. Fields were not scattered out over the island, but were clearly concentrated in several areas of well-drained soil.

Climate

John Lawson described South Carolina, in 1700, as having "a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil" (Lefler 1967:86). Of course, Lawson tended to romanticize Carolina. In December 1740 Robert Pringle remarked that Charleston was having "hard frosts & Snow" characterized as "a great Detriment to the Negroes" (Edgar 1972:282), while in May 1744 Pringle states, "the weather having already Come in very hott" (Edgar 1972:685).

The major climatic controls of the area are latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Kiawah's latitude of 32°37'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida, further south. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block the shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:46).

The average high temperature on Kiawah in July is 81°F, although temperatures are frequently in the 90s during much of July (Kjerfve 1975:C-4). Mills noted:

> in the months of June, July, and August, 1752, the weather in Charleston was warmer than any of the inhabitants before had ever experienced. The mercury in the shade often rose above 90°, and for nearly twenty successive days varied between that an 101° (Mills 1972:444).

Kiawah normally experiences a high relative humidity, adding greatly to the discomfort. Kjerfve (1975:C-5) found an annual mean value of 73.5% RH, with the highest levels occurring during the summer. Pringle remarked in 1742 that guns "sufferr'd with the Rust by Lying so Long here, & which affects any Kind of Iron Ware, much more in this Climate than in Europe" (Edgar 1972:465).

The annual rainfall on Kiawah is 49 inches, fairly evenly spaced over the year. While adequate for most crops, there may be periods of both excessive rain and drought. Kjerfve (1974:C-8) notes that Kiawah has recorded up to 20 inches of rain in a single month and the rainfall over a three month period has exceeded 30 inches no less than 9 times in the past 37 years. Likewise, periods of draught can occur and cause considerable damage to crops and livestock. Mills remarks that the "Summer of 1728 was uncommonly hot; the face of the earth was completely parched; the pools of standing water dried up, and the field reduced to the greatest distress" (Mills 1972:447-448). Another significant historical drought occurred in 1845, affecting both the Low and Up Country.

The annual growing season is 295 days, one of the longest in South Carolina. This mild climate, adequate rainfall, and long growing season, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

Floristics

Kiawah Island exhibits three major ecosystems: the maritime forest ecosystem which consists of the upland forest areas of the island, the estuarine ecosystem of deep water tidal habitats, and the palustrine ecosystems which consist of essentially fresh water, non-tidal wetlands (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9).

The maritime forest ecosystem has been found to consist of five principal forest types, including the Oak-Pine forests, the Mixed Oak Hardwood forests, the Palmetto forests, the Oak thickets, and other miscellaneous wooded areas (such as salt marsh thickets and wax myrtle thickets).

Of these the Oak-Pine forests are most common, constituting over half of the forest community on the island. In some areas palmetto becomes an important sub-dominant. Typically these forests are dominated by the laurel oak with pine (primarily loblolly with minor amounts of longleaf pine) as the major canopy co-dominant. Hickory is present, although uncommon. Other trees found are the sweet gum and magnolia, with sassafras, red bay, American holly, and wax myrtle and palmetto found in the understory. This vegetation dominates the immediate area of 38CH1107 (Figure 3).

Mills, in the early nineteenth century, remarked that:

> South Carolina is rich in native and exotic productions; the varieties of its soil, climate, and geological positions, afford plants of rare, valuable, and medicinal qualities; fruits of a luscious, refreshing, and nourishing nature; vines and shrubs of exquisite beauty, fragrance, and luxuriance, and forest trees of noble growth, in great variety (Mills 1972:66).

The loblolly pine was called the "pitch or Frankincense Pine" and was used to produce tar and turpentine; the longleaf pine was "much used in building and for all other domestic purposes;" trees such as the red bay and red cedar were often used in furniture making and cedar was a favorite for posts; and live oaks were recognized as yielding "the best of timber for ship building;" (Mills 1972:66-85). Mills also observed that:

> in former years cypress was much used in building, but the difficulty of obtaining it now, compared with the pine, occasions little of it to be cut for sale, except in the

Figure 3. Screening auger tests at 38CH1107 showing site vegetation during the survey and excavations.

> shape of shingles; the cypress is a most valuable wood for durability and lightness. Besides the two names we have cedar, poplar, beech, oak, and locust, which are or may be also used in building (Mills 1972:460).

The "Oak and hickory high lands" according to Mills were, "well suited for corn and provisions, also for indigo and cotton" (Mills 1972:443). The value of these lands in the mid-1820s was from $10 to $20 per acre, less expensive than the tidal swamp or inland swamp lands (where rice and, with drainage, cotton could be grown).

Historical Background

An extensive historical synopsis of Kiawah Island has been provided by Trinkley (1993) and this review won't attempt to repeat that entire overview. Instead, since the site appears to date from the eighteenth century, only Kiawah's early history will be recounted.

The English established the first permanent settlement in what is today South Carolina in 1670 on the west bank of the Ashley River. Like other European powers, the English were lured to the New World for a variety of reasons, including the acquisition of land and the promotion of agriculture. The Lord Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop, the marketing of which would provide great wealth through the mercantile system.

By 1680 the settlers of Albemarle Point had moved the village across the bay to the tip of the peninsula formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. This new settlement at Oyster Point would become modern-day Charleston. The move provided not only a more healthful climate and an area of better defense, but would also help promote the commercial venture proposed by the Proprietors.

Beginning as early as 1586 the Spanish made references to Cayagua, translated by Gene Waddell (1980:222) as Kiawah and it is clear that the term was variously used by both the Spanish

and the English to designate the general area of Charleston, as well as nearby Native Americans. In 1670 Governor William Sayle remarked:

> the Indians that boarder on them being soe friendly for a inconsiderable vallue they supply them with deer fish and fowle in a great abundance as likewise in assisting them to cleare and plante their land (quoted in Waddell 1980:236-237).

And in 1671 Maurice Mathews noted that the "Keyawah" Indians resided "where we now live" (Waddell 1980:237).

On March 10, 1675 the Kiawah Indians ceded their lands to the English for "cloth, hatchets, brads & other goods and manufacturers." The document specifies that:

> we the Cafsequas natural born heirs & sole owners & Proprietors of Great and Little Cafsor lying on the River of Kyewaw the River of Stono and the Freshed of the River of Edistoh doe for us ourselves and subjects and Vafsals demise, do grant and forever quit and resign the whole parcel and parcels often called by the name and names of great and little Cafsor with all Timber of said land all manner of the appurtenances [ ] belonging to any part or parts of the said land or lands unto the Right Honorable Anthony Earle of Shaftsbury . . . (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Royal Grants, Vol.38, p. 1).

This document reveals that while the land ceded may have included Kiawah Island, a great deal more territory was involved --essentially covering the area of the North Edisto, Kiawah, and Stono rivers and probably including Seabrook, Johns, and Kiawah islands.

Early settlers came from the English West Indies, directly from England, and from other colonies. But perhaps more than any others, it was the Barbadian elite who would set the Carolina culture apart from that of the more northern colonies, such as Virginia, and who would also establish the roots of cash monoculture and slavery (Sirmans 1966; Waterhouse 1975). Coclanis notes that almost as many Carolina settlers came from the small island of Barbados in the decade of the 1670s as from England herself, causing him to remark that:

> Carolina - alone among the English colonies on the mainland of North America - felt the heat of the tropics from the start. Those that wish to understand the torridity of South Carolina's later history, its passion and its zeal, would do well to remember this point (Coclanis 1989:22).

Kiawah Island, a plantation of 2700 acres, was granted to Captain George Raynor by the Lords Proprietors on March 29, 1699 (South Carolina Historical Society; see also February 22, 1698/9 warrant in Salley and Olsberg 1973:585-586). Raynor (also spelled Rayner) was also recorded purchasing three town lots in 1693/4, 1020 acres of land on the west side of the Stono, and an island on the east side of the Stono in 1699/1700 (Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina 1692-1700, p. 21-22; Salley and Olsberg 1973:444, 485, 591).

Raynor, who was a ships captain with a somewhat checkered career, has been associated with piracy by at least one recent local historian (Leland 1977:8). His participation, while suspected, can hardly be proved by the historical accounts. Indeed, piracy and privateering differed only in whose ships were being raided and both continued to be a way of life into the mid-eighteenth century (Hughson 1894). Raynor's land transactions suggest that he was engaged in land speculation, gradually integrating himself into respectable society.

There is no indication that Raynor ever lived on Kiawah, or even planted the island. Raynor apparently married in Charleston and had at least one daughter, Mary, who married Roger Moore sometime prior to 1715 (Webber 1936:13). Roger was the son of James Moore, Governor of

South Carolina from 1700 to 1703.

Raynor sold half of Kiawah Island to a Captain William Davis about a year after his initial purchase, on November 1, 1701 (South Carolina Historical Society, Misc. Deeds). The other half interest or moiety he passed to his daughter in his will (Charleston County RMC DB Y, p. 182). Mary Raynor Moore apparently moved to the Cape Fear area of North Carolina with her husband about 1723. There Roger Moore became a member of the Kings Council and was one of the "chief gentlemen of Cape Fear" (Webber 1936:12-13).

The portion of Kiawah which passed from Raynor to his daughter remained in the Moore family through 1737, passing from Mary to her husband Roger to their son, George Moore (Charleston County RMC, DB Y, p. 182). As absentee owners it seems unlikely that they made any appreciable changes on Kiawah. Roger Moore sold Kiawah Island to John Stanyarne in October 1717 (Charleston County RMC DB N, p. 119). Apparently there was some doubt to the legality of the transfer, since George Moore, while noting that his father had only a life-interest in the property and therefore could not legally provide fee-simple title, sold his one-half share in Kiawah to John Stanyarne on July 16, 1737 for only 5 shillings, apparently to clear the title (Charleston County RMC DB Y, p. 182).

The other moiety of Kiawah, sold by Raynor to William Davis, was passed from Davis to his widow, Elizabeth. She married William Wilkins and sold the property (as executor of her late husband's estate) on July 12, 1708 to Richard Peterson, Jr. for £90 (Charleston County RMC, DB N, p. 113). Richard Peterson is described as a "mariner" (Charleston County RMC DB N, p. 122), perhaps continuing the ownership of this moiety by those having some tie to Raynor's earlier days as a privateer. The moiety eventually passes from Richard Peterson to his son, John Peterson. Apparently a minor, the property was managed by Jonathan Drake, who on January 4, 1722/3 sold John Stanyarne the "whole stock of cattle also the hoges bothe tame and wild" on "Koyawave" for £300. Further Stanyarne was to have "use of that part of the Island which is now in the posation of said John Drake In behalf of said Peterson" (South Carolina Historical Society 12/194/30).

This suggests that Kiawah, in the early eighteenth century, was being used solely as range for cattle, a common practice in the early Colony, especially on the sea islands. It was an easy way to exploit the region's land and resources, offering a relatively secure return for very little investment. Few slaves were necessary to manage the herd. The mild climate of the islands made winter forage more abundant and winter shelters unnecessary. The salt marshes, useless for other purposes, provided excellent grazing and eliminated the need to provide salt licks. Further, the islands were self-contained, eliminating the need for fences (Coon 1972; Dunbar 1961). Production of cattle, hogs, and sheep quickly outstripped local consumption and by the late seventeenth century beef and pork were principal exports of the Colony to the West Indies (Ver Steeg 1975:114-116).

John Peterson died in September 1727 and his property was inherited by his aunts, Elizabeth Porter (of North Carolina) and Eleanor White (late of Jamaica). They, in turn, sold their one-half of Kiawah to John Stanyarne, who had been previously leasing the island, for £600 (Charleston RMC DB N, p. 129).

With the acquisition of the Peterson moiety in 1734 and the Moore moiety in 1737, John Stanyarne for the first time since Raynor, 33 years earlier, united the island under one ownership. Relatively little is known about Stanyarne, although his major seat was Hickory Hill at the end of River Road on adjacent John's Island and it is there, in the family cemetery, that he was buried in 1772 (South Carolina Historical Society 30-06-21; Betty Stringfellow, personal communication 1993). Politically, he sided with the Proprietors during their long-standing disputes with the "Goose Creek" faction (which included his brother, James). The "Goose Creek Men," a wealthy and influential immigrant group from Barbados, favored trade and commercial interaction with pirates and privateers, against the will of the proprietors and Crown (Sirmans 1966:42).

Early agricultural experiments in Carolina

involved olives, grapes, silkworms, and oranges -- all with less than spectacular success. While the Indian trade, naval stores, and cattle farming all were profitable to many of the early settlers, these endeavors did not provide the proprietors with the wealth that they expected from their venture. Attention was increasingly turned to rice and indigo as a means of establishing the mercantile system.

As previously discussed, it is known that Stanyarne began cattle farming on Kiawah as early as 1722/3. It also seems likely that it was during this early period when agricultural pursuits were introduced to Kiawah. Starr provides a compelling analysis to demonstrate the economic profitability of indigo over cattle for the Beaufort area and it seems likely that the same incentives would be present on Kiawah, even closer to Charleston (Starr 1984:37).

As Coclanis goes to lengths to illustrate, the shift from "pioneer" (i.e., grazing) to "plantation," (cash crops) was not a change in *mentalité* or ends, just a change in the means to the end. He observes that:

> early land-intensive activities, activities which included not only mixed agriculture but rudimentary extraction and plunder - the stuff of Marxian primitive accumulation - as well, gradually gave way to economic activities requiring relatively greater inputs of labor and capital (Coclanis 1989:58).

Rice and indigo both competed for the attention of Carolina planters. Although introduced at least by the 1690s, rice did not become a significant staple crop until the early eighteenth century. At that time it not only provided the proprietors with the economic base the mercantile system required, but it was also to form the basis of South Carolina's plantation system -- slavery.

South Carolina's economic development during the pre-Revolutionary War period involved a complex web of interactions between slaves, planters, and merchants. By 1710 slaves were beginning to be concentrated on a few, large slave-holding plantations. By the close of the eighteenth century some South Carolina plantations had a ratio of slaves to whites that was 27:1. And by the end of the century over half of eastern South Carolina's white population held slaves. With slavery came, to many, unbelievable wealth. Coclanis notes that:

> on the eve of the American Revolution, the white population of the low country was by far the richest single group in British North America. With the area's wealth based largely on the expropriation by whites of the golden rice and blue dye produced by black slaves, the Carolina low country had by 1774 reached a level of aggregate wealth greater than that in many parts of the world even today. The evolution of Charleston, the center of the low-country civilization, reflected not only the growing wealth of the area but also its spirit and soul (Coclanis 1989:7).

Only certain areas of the low country, however, were suitable for rice production. During the early years rice was grown as an upland crop, in small fields adjacent to freshwater streams where water could be easily impounded and applied to the crop. By the early 1700s planters found that upland swamps were even better for rice, although the soils were quickly exhausted. In addition, during drought, water had to be brought in, requiring the creation of upland reservoirs. While the introduction of tidal rice cultivation solved many of these problems, the sea islands were typically poor producers of rice. Freshwater was always in short supply and the proximity of the marshes and ocean created a constant threat of salt-water encroachment.

These problems, coupled with a dramatic decline in rice prices during the 1720s (see Coclanis 1989:106), provided the incentives necessary for serious consideration of indigo by planters. The economic motive for indigo was

clear. Carman noted:

> Mr. Glen's account is that one acre of *good land* will produce 80 lb. and one slave may manage two acres and upwards, and raise provisions besides, and have all the winter months to saw lumber and be otherwise employed: 80 lb. at 3s., the present price, is 12£ per acre; and 2½ acres at that rate amount to 30£ per slave, besides lumber, which is very considerable: but I should observe, that there is much indigo brought now from Carolina which sells in London for from 5s. to 8s. a pound, some even higher, though the chief part of the crop may not yield more than 3s. or 4s.; this will alter the average price (Carman 1775:281-290).

Copenhaver (1930) suggests that 80 pounds/acre was high and a better average was 30 to 40 pounds per acre. Eight slaves could cultivate, harvest, and prepare the dye from a 40 acre plot -- with returns of from 30¢ to $2.25 per pound.

The industry also flourished because of its unusual advantages -- an indirect bounty, a protective tariff, and a monopoly on the British market during the various wars which cut off access to the better Spanish and French indigo supplies (Sharrer 1971). Winberry also suggests that South Carolina's love affair with indigo ran hot and cold, unlike its commitment to rice. At the end of King George's War in 1748, many Carolina planters returned to rice. Indigo cultivation continued, but it was always of poor quality, typically the cheapest "copper indigo" quality. Carolina planters failed to pay close attention to the exacting requirements of processing, and the result was disastrous. According to Winberry, "importers also noticed that in many of the casks there was nothing but a black spongy substance producing a muddy effect, as if the indigo were mixed with soil" (Winberry 1979:248).

If processing was difficult, cultivation was fairly simple. The crop was planted from seed in middle April, with a preference for dry, loose soil typical of "hickory lands and pine barrens." The plant was harvested in late June or early July, immediately after it blossomed, by cutting it off at ground level. This allowed the roots to produce a second, and sometimes a third, crop before it was killed by frost.

The plants were hauled to the indigo vats and placed in a steeper made from pine or cypress planks measuring 16 feet square and 3½ to 5 feet deep. The plants were weighted down, covered with water, and allowed to ferment for 10 to 14 hours to remove the dye. The "liquor" was drained off to the wooden beating vats, which were typically 15 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 5 feet deep. There the solution was oxidized by beating. After visible precipitation began limewater was added from the adjacent lime vat to aid coagulation of the dye and agitation continued for about an hour. Afterwards the liquid was drained from the vat and strained through woolen cloth to catch the dye. As Carman notes, "indigo has a very disagreeable smell, while making and curing; and the foeces, when taken out of the steeper, if not immediately buried in the ground (for which it is excellent manure) breeds incredible swarms of flies" (Carman 1775:288).

The wet dye was carried to the curing shed where it was pressed to remove as much water as possible and cut into cubes about 2 inches square. It was dried on trays in the shade, then placed in barrels with damp moss, where it was allowed to mold for several days. Afterwards it was brushed off and graded into four categories -- fine blue, ordinary blue, fine purple, and ordinary copper, the least desirable (Copenhaver 1930:895).

There is good evidence that Stanyarne actively participated in this economy. The appraisal and inventory of his estate listed a total of 296 slaves working on his plantations -- six on Johns Island totalling 1974 acres, one on St. Helena with 1040 acres, and Kiawah with 2700 acres, plus his Charleston house. Agricultural implements, tools, and produce included a lot of indigo seed; seven casks; 17 indigo hooks; a wire sieve; five sets of indigo vats, press cloths, and pumps; three pair rice sieves; 15 rice mills with mortars and pestles; 300 bushels of seed rice; a "win fann for Rice"; 14

bushels old indigo seed; 29 bushels new indigo seed; 63 Indigo vats and "furniture"; and crops of rice and indigo from his Johns Island and Kiawah plantations. While not divided in the inventory, it is likely that the Johns Island plantations produced rice, while Kiawah produced indigo. Henry Laurens served as a factor for Stanyarne, shipping as much as 6000 pounds of indigo at a time to England. At the rate of 40 pounds per acre this suggests Stanyarne was planting about 150 acres in indigo, requiring perhaps 30 slaves.

John Stanyarne's estate, excluding lands, was valued at £146,246.9.2 (S.C. Currency, or approximately £20,474 sterling). To obtain a better idea of this wealth, a pound sterling during this period was worth about $120.58 in 1992 dollars (Jones 1980:10), with Stanyarne's estate therefore being nearly $2.5 million. Less than 19% of South Carolina estates fell into this category (Coclanis 1989:86).

Other items at Johns and Kiawah islands included: walnut chairs, tables, gilt looking glasses, a clock, four hunting prints, floor cloths, window blinds, mahogany and cypress tables, tea tables, poplar and pine bedsteads, mattresses, easy and arm chairs, silver castors, candlesticks, silk umbrellas, a rum case, brass scales and weights, curtains, guns and pistols, books, pewter, earthenware, glass, kitchen furniture, iron pots and kettles, milk pans, and green handled knives and forks. Plantation implements included carpenter's tools, shoemaker's tools, an auger, staves and heads, cedar posts, an ox cart, two horse carts, five boats or canoes, iron wedges, spades, a grist mill, whip and crosscut saws, nails (20p, 10p, and 4p), window glass, cut lumber, and a "lott of old iron."

Produce and provisions on the plantations included one jar of hog lard, 36 bottles of wine, two jugs of linseed oil, 158 pounds of tallow, 456 pounds of myrtle wax, rice flour, 2649 bushels of corn, peas, 2 barrels of pitch, potatoes, and corn blades. The current rice crop was valued at £4368, while the indigo crop was valued at £6098. Stock included 31 horses, 206 head of cattle, 16 head of oxen, 55 hogs, and 50 head of sheep. Of the 296 slaves, 97 were males, 90 were females, and 109 were children. Their total value was £90,310, or approximately 62% of the total estate (Charleston County WPA Inventories, Vol. 94B, pp. 436-444).

Stanyarne's will, dated August 27, 1772 and proved December 22, 1772 provided that his grand daughter, Mary Gibbes, would receive as a life estate the southwestern moiety of "my Island Called Kiwah Island, wheron the dwelling-house now stands, containing one Thousand Three hundred and fifty acres of Land." At her death the property would pass to her heirs, and finally, ownership would be fee simple with the third generation. The other, or northeastern, moiety was devised to Stanyarne's grand daughter "Elizabeth Vanderhorst, daughter of the late William Raven and Sarah his late wife," again as a life interest converting to fee simple ownership for the third generation (Charleston County WPA Wills, 1771-1774, p. 286; see Writs of Partition, Book No. 1, 1754-1777, p.262 for the division of Kiawah between Gibbes and Vanderhorst, this partition also provides the first plat of Kiawah, dated 1775).

On the eve of the American Revolution it therefore appears that Kiawah was not only a major indigo producing plantation, but that it was also producing at least some provisions, perhaps myrtle wax, and was continuing to be used for stock raising. Stanyarne had built a settlement on the southwestern half of the island, probably in the vicinity of 38CH123 (Trinkley 1993). No settlement worthy of mention existed on the other half of Kiawah, inherited by Elizabeth Vanderhorst (this spelling is retained throughout this study, although most members of the family used the spelling Van der Horst, with the pronunciation, vān•der•hórst). The island, united by Stanyarne for nearly 40 years was again divided.

EXCAVATIONS AT 38CH1107

Methods

The first phase of the investigations at 38CH1107 dealt with better understanding the site, its different components, their location, and their densities. The general site area had been previously flagged by Poplin during the field survey and the location had been recorded on KRA property maps. Consequently, the general site area could be quickly relocated, although the identification of the historic component was considerably more difficult. A pedestrian survey revealed a much larger dispersion of shell than was originally recorded (perhaps the result of additional clearing efforts since Hurricane Hugo immediately prior to the 1989 study).

In addition, the pedestrian survey failed to identify any historic material on the surface (although this was most likely the result of the dense vegetation). Eventually the decision was made to "locate" the historic component based solely on the mapping provided by the initial survey and hope that the subsequent testing was adequate to provide good boundary definitions.

The grid was oriented N118°W, in alignment with the boundary stakes which were still present from the initial site survey in 1989, and an area 180 feet east-west by 120 feet north-south was incorporated. The size of the grid was based on Poplin's (1989:57) comment that the historic component covered an area 130 feet east-west by 98 feet north-south, with what we thought would be ample buffer to allow for shifting. This grid was also tied into the permanent lot layout plan, with Auger Test 27 at the Lot 51/52 marker. This would allow the grid to be re-established should the need arise in the future and would also help overlay the grid onto development maps of the project area.

Initially we had proposed to conduct an auger survey of the site area at 50 foot intervals. After the pedestrian survey and reflection on the ephemeral nature of the site, it was decided to establish the auger test grid at 20 foot intervals (which was more consistent with the original proposal by Poplin). This would help produce not only a larger collection, but we felt that it would better identify concentrations which might be structural.

Consequently, the initial grid incorporated 70 auger test points. As work progressed, and it seemed possible that the site area was larger than proposed by Poplin and that at least one apparent concentration was on the northwestern edge of the site grid. Consequently the grid was expanded 40 feet to the north and 40 feet to the west, adding an additional 38 tests, for a total of 108. The tests were numbered sequentially as shown in Figure 4.

Coupled with the auger testing was the use of a metal detector. We hope that this additional survey technique might help refine our understanding of the historical component at 38CH1107 and, in particular, might better isolate or identify structural remains. There seems to be relatively little professional literature dealing with the use of metal detectors at historic sites. One of the few sources is Heimmer (1992), who comments that metal detectors can be useful in boundary determinations and are particularly useful when used in conjunction with other survey techniques. This, of course, was exactly our hope at 38CH1107.

The work was undertaken using a Tesoro Bandito™ using an 8-inch concentric coil (electromagnetic type operating at 10Khz). The instrument has the capability to operate in either an all metal mode or discriminate mode (which eliminates ferrous metal response). The all metal mode is the industry standard VFL type which does not require motion of the search coil for proper operation. The discriminate mode is based on motion of the search coil, but allows control over the detector's response to ferrous metals.

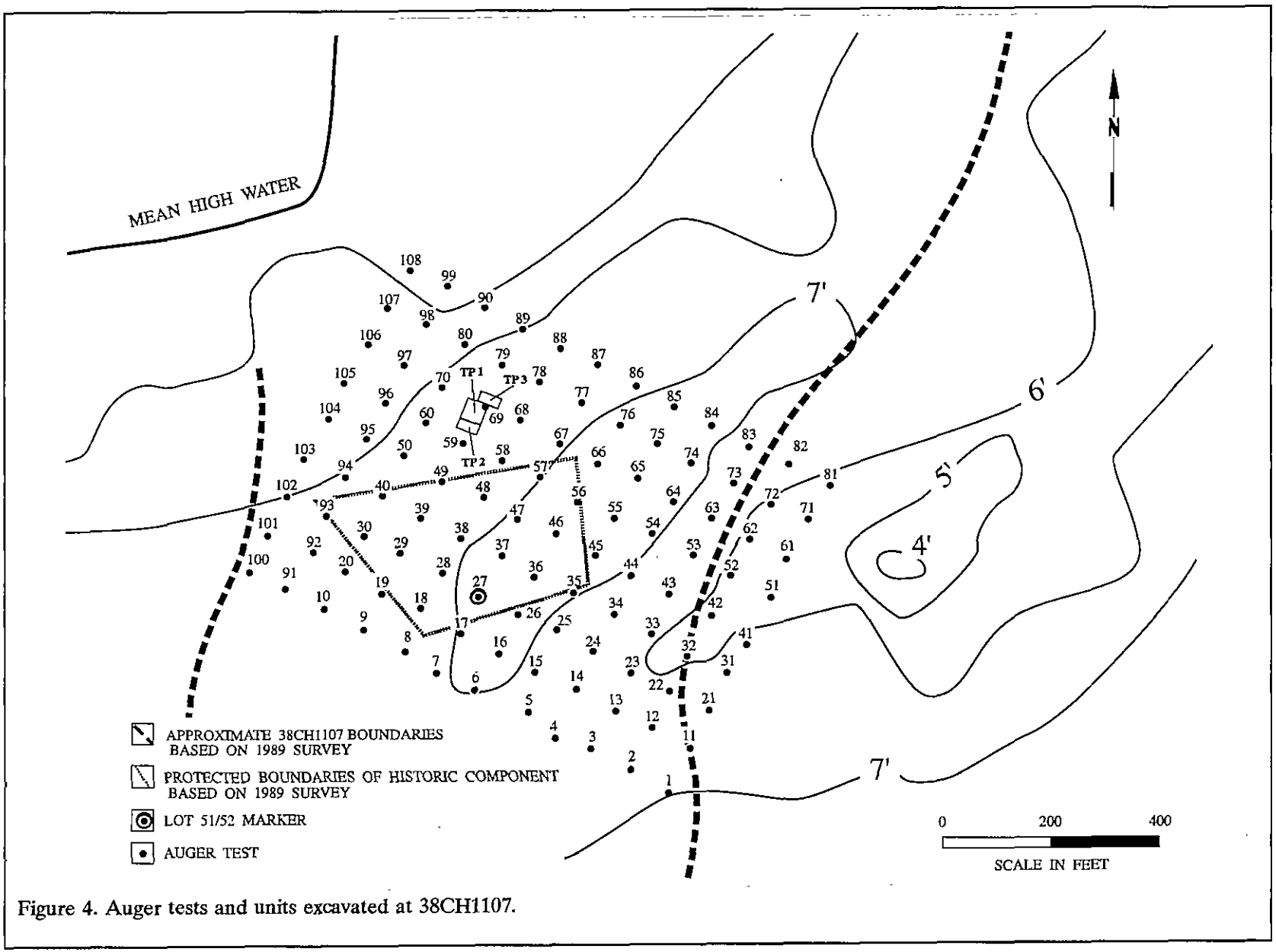

Figure 4. Auger tests and units excavated at 38CH1107.

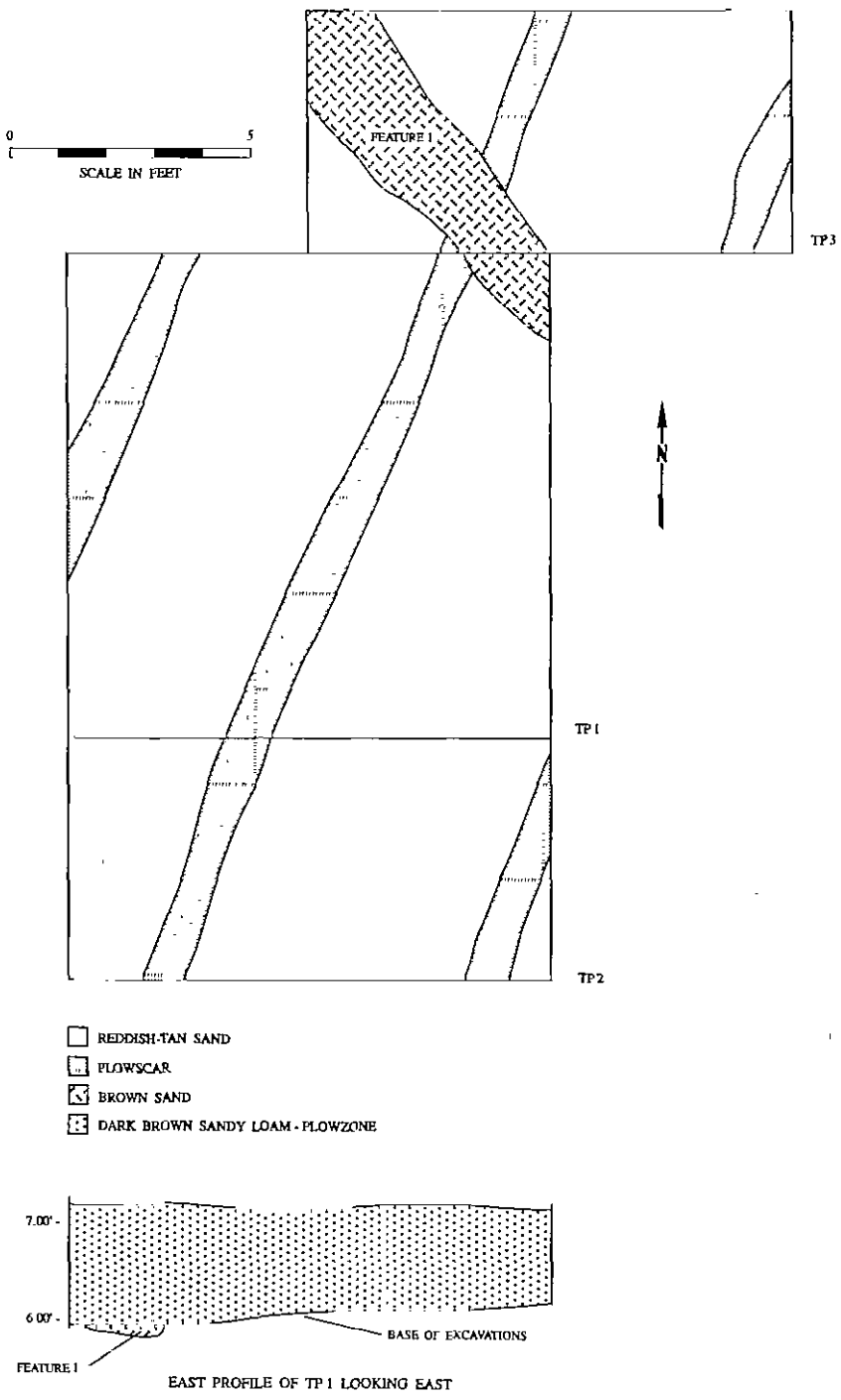

Figure 5. Excavations conducted at 38CH1107.

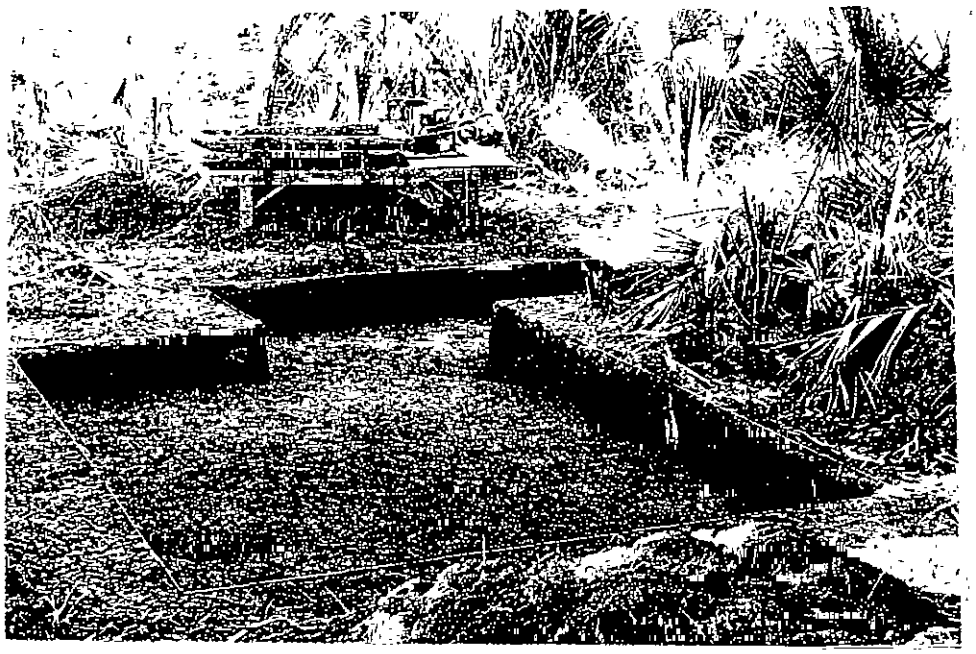

Figure 6. Block excavation at 38CH1107, view to the north.

Since boundary definition was not the primary goal, the metal detecting was limited to the area of the site suggested by the auger testing to represent the site core. Our hope was the metal detector would further refine this area and help "pin-point" possible structural remains. This, of course, assumed that these remains were of the type which would yield traditional architectural remains.

The initial "sweep" of the area used the discrimination mode, in order to search exclusively for non-ferrous remains. This approach resulted in the identification of no signals or "hits" whatsoever. Consequently, an additional survey of the area was conducted in the all metal mode. This approach did identify a concentration of "hits" which correlated perfectly with the previous auger survey. The metal detector survey, however, was not able to further refine the probable structure location. Given the evidence of a relatively deep Ap horizon it seems likely that subsequent plowing mixed the site, blurring clear and distinct boundaries.

Based on the auger survey, and the collaborating metal detector survey, it appeared that the bulk of the historic remains were confined in a 20 foot area. This guided the excavations, which used the same grid system as the auger tests and subsequent metal detector survey. No effort, however, was made to establish a permanent grid since this area was slated for near-term development efforts. Units would be identified simply as numbers and would be tied into one another and associated auger test points. Even this simple approach allowed adequate horizontal control of excavations. Vertical control was achieved through the use of a mean sea level elevation control point previously established nearby by Southeastern Surveying.

Excavation was by the natural stratigraphy identified in the auger tests and all fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh. Brick rubble and shell from each unit was weighed and discarded in the field. One quart soil samples were routinely collected from each zone. Units were trowled at the top of the subsoil, photographed in black and white print film and color transparencies, and plotted.

Features were plotted and photographed prior to excavation. Typically the were excavated to allow at least one standing profile to be recorded. If there was evidence that the feature fill might contain good ethnobotanical remains (i.e., when the fill was black and evidenced visible charcoal), a 5-gallon sample was retained for water flotation. Otherwise the fill was dry screened through ⅛-inch mesh for the recovery of smaller items, such as fish bones or beads. After excavation features were re-plotted and photographed.

Findings

The auger tests produced rather disappointing results. Although 84 artifacts were recovered from the tests, only 14 (16.7%) were historic. The reminder, representing vast bulk of the collection, were prehistoric sherds. Identified prehistoric remains included Deptford Cord Marked, Deptford Check Stamped, Savannah Plain, and Savannah Complicated Stamped sherds. Shell was lightly scattered across the entire auger test grid, but seemed to be concentrated in four areas, with some evidence that it represented midden piles spread out or elongated by plowing. Surface shell, however, was present nearly everywhere, although it seemed to form no clear or convincing concentrations. Since the prehistoric component was determined not eligible, our efforts focused exclusively on the historic remains.

The auger tests revealed relatively deep soils. In some cases up to 1.9 feet of brown sandy loam were identified overlaying the orange sandy clay subsoil. With an average depth of 1.5 feet, this suggested that the project area had been subjected to rather intensive plowing. This likely explained the dispersion of both historic and prehistoric remains across the site.

The only vague concentration (consisting of five specimens, representing 33% of the historic remains) was found at Auger Test 59, at the northwest corner of the grid. This was the impetus for expanding the grid to the north and west. This expansion, however, failed to identify any additional remains and left Auger Test 59 as a seemingly isolated point.

The metal detector survey helped refine our understanding of the site. Broad sweeps of the area failed to identify any non-ferrous metals. Additional sweeps in an all metals mode found only one concentration at the northwest corner of the original grid. Within the 20 foot block identified by Auger Tests 59, 60, 69, and 70 eight "hits" were recorded. Each was relatively weak, suggesting a nail or other small iron object. To the north only one "hit" was recorded. To the east three "hits" were found. While two "hits" were present to both the south and west. This suggested that whatever metal artifacts were present on the site were concentrated to the north and west of Auger Test 59 (which also produced the largest quantity of historic remains present on the site).

With this information in hand, an initial unit (designated Test Pit 1) was laid out with Auger Test 69 being the northeast corner. This unit evidenced a relatively deep (1.3 feet) plowzone of brown sandy loam. The plowzone soil was found to be almost gummy and was very difficult to screen (a problem which was repeated in the subsequent units). At the base of the unit was a reddish tan sandy subsoil with clear plowscars extending north-east-southwest. In the northeast corner was a dark brown stain which appeared to be a probable feature, although not enough was exposed to allow any identification or interpretation. Even a brief examination of the recovered artifacts in the field revealed that the materials were small and fragmentary — the type of material consistent with deep, and heavy, plowing of a site. Test Pit 1 evidenced a density of 3.42 historic artifacts per cubic foot of plowzone.

In order to further explore the dispersion of artifacts in this particular site area, a second unit was laid in to the south of Test Pit 1. This excavation, a 5 by 10 foot unit designed Test Pit 2, revealed almost identical stratigraphy, although the plowzone was not as deep. Most noticeably, the artifact density dropped to 1.48 specimens per cubic foot, suggesting that whatever concentration there might be in this area was perhaps to the north.

Test Pit 3, another 5 by 10 foot unit, was laid in at the northeast corner of Test Pit 1 in order to both explore artifact density to the north and also to expose more of the posited feature first

Figure 7. Feature 1 before excavation, view to the north.

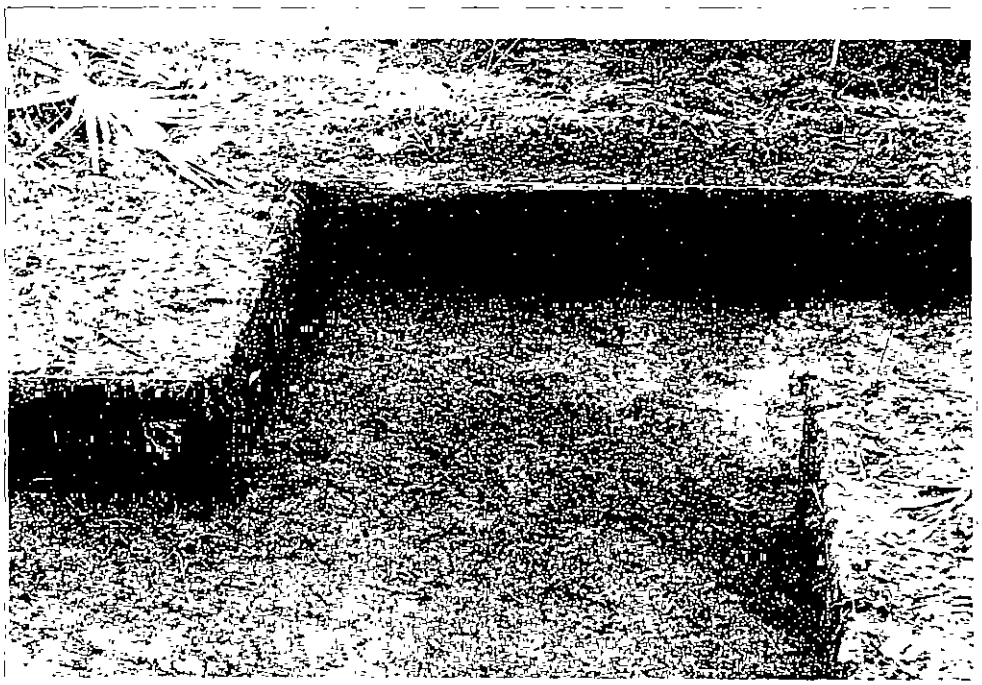

Figure 8. Feature 1, after excavation showing the straight sides and flat bottom, view to the north.

identified in the northeast corner of Test Pit 1. Test Pit 3 revealed the same deep plowzone, but produced only 2.59 artifacts per cubic foot. This suggested that the "core" of the site might have been incorporated in the excavation of Test Pit 1 and that the 200 square feet opened in this portion of the site (Figures 5 and 6) represent the area originally targeted by Poplin (1989). It also suggested that there was relatively little reason to continue excavations — they were producing only small quantities of plowzone fragmented and dispersed artifact. The depth of the plowing also probably destroyed any architectural remains which might have been present.

This last unit, however, did help expose more of what was termed Feature 1. Found in the northeast quadrant of Test Pit 1 it extended northwest into the western half of Test Pit 3 (Figure 7). In both units it was first encountered at the base of the plowzone, about 1.2 to 1.3 feet below the modern ground surface. The feature was recognized by very black fill with relatively distinct edges. Upon excavation this feature was found to be about 0.4 foot in depth and to have a flat bottom (Figure 8). No lensing of the fill was observed — it seemed homogeneous throughout. Artifacts were very scarce, with only one ceramic and fourteen colono ware sherds recovered from the feature. This suggests (although certainly cannot prove) that the feature dates from the early period of the site's occupation.

The absence of any lensing, coupled with the flat base, seems to discount this being a drainage ditch. There is no compelling evidence that the feature is in any way architectural. The nature of the sides and especially the base, appears to reflect excavation by hoe. The feature is certainly a ditch of some kind and it has tentatively associated with agricultural activities at the site. The dark greasy fill suggests that the feature may represent a deep agricultural planting, perhaps for a crop requiring deep manuring.

MATERIAL CULTURE REMAINS

Lab Methods

The cleaning of the recovered artifacts was begun in Charleston during the field work and completed in Columbia. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia. All artifacts except brass and lead specimens were wet cleaned. Brass and lead items were dry brushed and evaluated for further conservation needs. Conservation treatments on the materials were conducted by Chicora personnel in Columbia prior to the specimens' curation.

No brass items were encountered which required any conservation treatments. Several ferrous items consisting of sound metal did receive treatment. These materials were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 5 volts for a period of 5 to 30 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of deionized water soaks to remove soluble chlorides. The baths were continued until a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 0.1 ppm (2 μmhos/cm), they were dewatered in acetone baths and air dried. Afterwards they received a series of phosphoric (10% w/v in water) and tannic (20% w/v in ethyl alcohol) acid solutions were applied. The artifacts were allowed to air dry for 24 hours, and coated with a 10% (w/v) solution of acryloid B-72 in toluene.

These collections were accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and are curated as 38CH1107 and are cataloged as 1-1 through 49-1 using this institutions accessioning system. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and photographic materials were processed to archival standards. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated with this facility.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was classified using common coastal South Carolina typologies (DePratter 1979; Trinkley 1983), although these remains are only briefly mentioned in this study. The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow Noel Hume (1970), Miller (1980, 1991), Price (1970), and South (1977).

The analysis system used South' (1977) functional groups in an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. Initially developed for eighteenth century British colonial assemblages, this approach appears to be an appropriate choice for the 38CH1107 collection. Although criticized for problems in sample comparability, even the detractors note that:

> whatever its flaws, the value of artifact patterning lies in the fact that it is a universally recognized method for organizing large collections of artifactual data in a manner which can be easily understood and which can be used for comparative purposes (Joseph 1989:65).

The functional categories of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities provide not only the range necessary for describing and characterizing most collections, but also allow typically consistent comparison between collections.

Recovered Artifacts

Only 14 historic artifacts were recovered

from the auger tests, including five clear lead glazed coarse red earthenwares, five colono ware sherds, two fragments of "black" bottle glass, and two fragments of window glass. This rather paultry assemblage offers little information concerning the site. The bulk of the collection (85.7% n=12) consists of kitchen group artifacts and the only other artifact category consists of Architectural items (consisting only of the two window glass fragments and comprising 14.3% of the assemblage). All of the European ceramics are utilitarian wares, probably bowls or perhaps storage containers. Slave made colono ware pottery is as common in the collection as European ceramics, although the colono wares are also utilitarian, likely including primarily bowl forms. The "black" glass fragments may represent wine, champaign, or stout bottles. The absence of nail fragments is perhaps as revealing as the presence of the two window glass pieces. Not only do the collections suggest that the architectural remains may be ephemeral, but they also suggest that the construction technique was something other than balloon framing. Wattle and daub, or even log construction might be possible.

When the block excavations are considered the assemblage increases to 572 specimens, with the bulk (82.9%, n=474) representing kitchen related items. The colono wares dominate the collection, accounting for 66.2% of the kitchen artifacts. The 146 European ceramics account for an additional 30.8% of the Kitchen Artifact Group, while the remaining 3% of the specimens consist of 14 fragments of "black" glass.

Colono wares from the eighteenth century Broom Hall Plantation recently have received detailed typological, mineralogical, and chemical analyses (Trinkley et al. 1995:198-224). One of the principal findings was that although various researchers have attempted to develop distinct types for those wares made by slaves and those made by Indian groups for trade on the plantations, the two (or more) groups cannot be consistently sorted. Such great overlap was found that the only reasonable approach seemed to be the use of a type-variety system frequently used for prehistoric pottery. The Broom Hall study outlined a number of areas worthy of additional study, including the further combination of petrographic and chemical studies with traditional typological work. Unfortunately, the 38CH1107 collection, although large in numbers, represents relatively small sherds exclusively from a plowzone context. For the most part this collection is not especially useful in the detailed studies necessary to further unravel the colono ware issue.

The pottery from 38CH1107, however, does generally fit the expectations of Yaughan pottery — the variety of colono ware typically associated with African American slaves in the eighteenth century. What this means, practically, is that the colono ware tends to be sandier, somewhat thicker, and somewhat less well smoothed than the colono attributed to Native Americans (typically called River Burnished). The apparent absence of River Burnished wares suggests an earlier eighteenth century date for the collection, although this is a very rough dating technique. Curiously, the prevalence of jar forms in the collection is also typical of an early eighteenth century date.

Although some Savannah wares were recovered from this site, it was relatively easy to distinguish the prehistoric Native American wares from the colono wares. One of the most consistent differences is that the Savannah materials have a paste dominated by relatively large amounts of coarse sand.

The dominance of what we believe is slave made low-fired earthenware, almost all of which consists of jar or bowl forms, is suggestive of a low status household relying on one-pot meals. This seems to be similar to the assemblage of European wares.

The ceramics recovered encompass a relatively narrow cross section of eighteenth century materials (Table 2), with lead glazed slipwares (n=39) and coarse earthenwares (n=35) dominating the collection. Slipware was a traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream colored slip was trailed over a bluff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip was then applied before firing. Examples of pink and buff fired-clay bodies are encountered. Although most of the fragments appear to represent bowls, at least one cup is present in the collection. Regrettably, the

Table 2.
Major Types of Pottery at 38CH1107

Porcelain		1	0.7%
Stoneware		24	16.4%
Brown	7		
Blue/Gray	17		
Earthenware		121	82.9%
Redware	20		
Slipware	39		
Refined	12		
Coarse	35		
Delft	14		
Creamware	1		

collection is too fragmentary to allow any minimum number of vessel reconstructions. The coarse earthenwares include North Devon Gravel Tempered wares, typically associated with storage containers, bowls, and pans, and coarse lead glazed earthenwares, which also frequently take the form of storage jars or bowls. Delftware, including plain, blue painted, and polychrome painted, accounts for 14 specimens and also include primarily bowls. The 12 examples of refined earthenware are all specimens of tortoiseshell or clouded ware. While most of these fragments were too small to allow vessel form identification, bowl forms seem indicated by several examples. The clear lead glazed red earthenwares are rather common utilitarian wares from both eighteenth and nineteenth century sites. Although most of the specimens are very small, at least two vessels were identified — one was a milk pan while the other was a bowl form. The latest earthenware present is the single example of a creamware plate. Developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgewood (and made widely available by 1762), this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide range of vessel forms and styles.

The stoneware collection is small and consists of both brown and gray salt glazed examples. These likely represent storage or other utilitarian vessels, although several of the Westerwald examples may be mugs or pitchers.

Container glass accounts for 14 fragments or 3.0% of the Kitchen Group total. All are what is commonly called "black" glass, which is actually dark green in transmitted light. These represent fragments of "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle represents four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wine and beer. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might have been sold in identical bottles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals a containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home. Consequently, it is almost impossible to speculate on the function of these few containers at 38CH1107.

Thirty-nine Architectural Group Artifacts were recovered from the block excavations at 38CH1107, representing 6.8% of the total collection. All of these were unidentifiable nail fragments. While several appeared to be hand wrought their condition precluded a definitive identification. In addition, none were intact. Although the general size suggests nails in the range of perhaps 9d to 12d, sizes typically used in framing, this is only an educated guess based on the approximate diameter of the shank (which increases as the penny size increases).

The Arms Group included three artifacts, representing 0.5% of the total assemblage. Present were two lead shots, 8 and 9.5 mm in diameter. While too small for a longarm ball, the 9.5 mm shot is an appropriate size for what was known in the eighteenth century as swan shot (buck and swan shot ranged from 8.75 to 11.8 mm in diameter). The smaller shot closely approximates what today is known as No. 0 buskshot, which is typically used for larger game and which historically was used in deer hunting. Also included in the Arms Group was a portion of a plain brass trigger guard from a longarm. This item is too fragmentary to allow any detailed analysis or identification of type of firearm.

The excavation block produced 54 tobacco artifacts (representing 9.4% of the total

assemblage), including 42 pipe stem fragments and 12 pipe bowl fragments (all of which were plain). The most common diameter pipestem is 5/64-inch, accounting for 64.3% of the collection (n=27). The remainder were 6/64-inch bore diameter examples. None of the stems evidence any decoration or marks.

The only other artifacts present are two specimens placed in the Activities Group, accounting for 0.4% of the total assemblage. One is a small lead fragment, perhaps being saved for future lead shot production. The other item is a small brass item about 15.5 mm in length, 16.5 mm in width, and 1 mm in thickness which evidences cast lines and at least one number. The specimen appears to be a portion of a brass carpenter's or wood working rule.

Dating Synthesis

Although no dateable ceramics were recovered in the auger testing, the mean ceramic date for the excavation block is shown in Table 3. This table also provides information concerning the manufacturing date range for the various ceramics. The *terminus post quem* (or TPQ) date is the date *after which* the zone was deposited. It is based on the latest dated artifact present in the assemblage.

Table 3.
Mean Ceramic Date for 38CH1107

Ceramic	Mean Date Date Range	# (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porcelain	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	9	15642
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	39	67587
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	12	21060
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	6	10500
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	8	13760
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	23	39399
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791
			99	171469
	171,469 ÷ 99 = 1732.0			

The mean ceramic date for the site is 1732.0. The TPQ date of 1762 for the block excavations at 38CH1107 is provided by the single fragment of creamware. Since this ware was not available until 1762, its presence at 38CH1107 reveals that the site was occupied at least this late, allowing for its use and inclusion in the archaeological record.

South offers another means of understanding, or at least exploring, site dating. His bracketing technique uses the various ceramic types to approximate the period of occupation. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing span of the various ceramics are placed. The left bracket is placed by determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to at least touch the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). For the 38CH1107 collection the beginning date would be set at 1650, with the terminal date by 1762.

These early dates are consistent with the large quantity of colono ware present at the site and may help explain the absence of River Burnished wares, which tend to be somewhat later than the Yaughan pottery. The early date is also consistent with what appeared to be wrought nail fragments.

The historic record clearly reveals that Kiawah's moieties were united by John Stanyarne in 1737. There is, however, relatively good evidence that Stanyarne had operating control of

one moiety as early as 1717 and was leasing the other moiety as early as 1722, the same year that he purchased cattle and hogs "bothe tame and wild" which were on the island from John Peterson's manager, Jonathan Drake. Consequently, while Stanyarne was not able to clear his title to Kiawah until 1737, he was certainly in control of the island by 1722 or perhaps even by 1717.

Using the earlier date of 1717 as the beginning date for Stanyarne's influence on Kiawah and his death in 1772 as a terminal point, the historic mean is about 1744. This range of 1717 through 1772 largely overlaps the bracketed dates for 38CH1107 and the mean historic date is only 12 years later than the mean ceramic date.

These data strongly suggest that 38CH1107 was primarily occupied during John Stanyarne's tenure over Kiawah Island, making it the earliest sites on the island yet examined. The Stanyarne Plantation (38CH122) has been briefly examined (Adams 1993). This work found that the plantation was most intensively occupied between 1780 and 1830 — immediately after Stanyarne's death.

Pattern Analysis

The artifact pattern for the block excavations at 38CH1107 is shown in Table 4, where it can also be easily compared to a range of previously defined artifact patterns. Site 38CH1107 does not immediately appear to resemble any of the previously identified patterns. Certainly there is no resemblance at all to the colonial British pattern known as the Carolina Artifact Pattern, nor is there any resemblance to the Townhouse Pattern, which is typical of the very wealthy urban elite. The Georgia Slave pattern, dominated by architectural items, bears no resemblance to 38CH1107.

The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, originally developed from excavations at the late eighteenth century Yaughan and Curriboo slave settlements in Berkeley County, South Carolina, however, is similar. The very high proportion of kitchen artifacts and the relatively low proportion of architectural remains is consistent with the Kiawah site, although even the Carolina Slave Pattern has too high a proportion of architectural items. Other artifact groups, which tend not to be as sensitive, are generally similar. The 38CH1107 Activities Group is the only other category which falls within the projected range. Arms and tobacco artifacts at 38CH1107 are considerable more common than should be expected.

An even better match to the 38CH1107 pattern data is provided by another small, ephemeral site on Spring Island, designated 38BU1214. While there are still differences, both

Table 4.
Previously published artifact patterns compared to the pattern at 38CH1107

	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Charleston Townhouse Profile[2]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[3]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[4]	38CH1107	38BU1214[5]
Kitchen	51.8-65.0	58.4	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8	82.9	84.6
Architecture	25.2-31.4	36.0	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2	6.8	9.5
Furniture	0.2-0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0-0.1	0.0	0.0
Arms	0.1-0.3	0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2	0.5	0.8
Tobacco	1.9-13.9	2.8	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7	9.4	2.7
Clothing	0.6-5.4	0.9	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7	0.0	0.8
Personal	0.2-0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1-0.2	0.0	0.0
Activities	0.9-1.7	1.1	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4	0.4	1.6

[1]Garrow 1982
[2]Zierden and Grimes 1989
[3]Garrow 1982
[4]Singleton 1980
[5]Hacker and Trinkley 1991

the proportion of kitchen and architectural remains are very similar. In both cases the arms artifacts are higher than would be expected in the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. Considering the small sample size which characterizes both collections, the degree of agreement is rather amazing. These two sites, 38CH1107 and 38BU1214, may form the nucleus of a new pattern appropriate for these small, isolated, and ephemeral structures.

The pattern at these two sites suggests an occupation focused on domestic activities (kitchen related artifacts comprise 82.9% of the collection at 38CH1107 and 84.6% at 38BU1214). Although colono wares were uncommon at 38BU1214, this may be the result of either its later date or more southern location. In both cases, however, ceramics dominate the kitchen group collection, evidencing a reliance on very simple food storage, preparation, and serving techniques. Architectural remains are so scarce (6.8% at 38CH1107 and 9.5% at 38BU1214) as to suggest either a very temporary structure or one which was built with only minimal use of (or reliance on) European technology and materials. There was some suggestion that a log structure may have been present at 38BU1214 (and has been clearly documented at several colonial slave settlements on Daufuskie and Hilton Head islands in the Beaufort area). Unfortunately, plowing was so extensive at 38CH1107 that virtually no clear architectural evidence remains. The near absence of both nails and glass, however, continues to support rudimentary architecture. Surprising both 38CH1107 and 38BU1214 seem to evidence a relatively high proportion of arms related items. This is most likely associated with their very isolated, almost frontier-type locations. The occupants of these two dwellings were perhaps responsible for the bulk of their own food supply, necessitating considerable hunting and foraging. At 38CH1107 the tobacco artifacts are considerably more numerous than might be expected, while at 38BU1214 the proportion is about what might be expected in the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. This difference may simply be a matter of individual behavior. Certainly tobacco appears to have been an important aspect of life at the Kiawah site.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

In many respects the pattern analysis for 38CH1107 suggests a rather impoverished assemblage, characteristic of an individual or family at the lowest end of the plantation social scale.

One of the most powerful tools for analysis of the economic value of archaeological ceramic assemblages is George Miller's (1980, 1991) CC indices. The technique provides a rough approximation of the economic position of the individual depositing the discarded ceramics. Unfortunately, the indices are only appropriate on collections which date from the last two or three decades of the eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. The indices have not been developed to deal with early eighteenth century assemblages such as that found at 38CH1107. In addition, the collection at the site precluded any meaningful efforts at vessel reconstructions (preventing a clear idea of the minimum number of vessels or even a clear statement on vessel forms). Consequently, it is not possible to explore the different proportions of tablewares, teawares, and utilitarian wares (although the assemblage certainly suggests a preponderance of tablewares, especially bowls, and utilitarian wares, especially storage containers). The dominance of bowl forms at slaves settlements is usually associated with the need (or preference) for one-pot meals (see Otto 1984:68-69). Certainly it seems unlikely that slaves would have been participating in the English tea ceremony.

While archaeologists frequently use the surface decorations of ceramics to explore status, this approach is only useful at nineteenth century sites dominated by creamware, pearlware, and whiteware (see Otto 1984:61-65; Miller 1980, 1991). In spite of this, ceramics such as lead glazed slipware, North Devon gravel tempered, and redwares are typically "low-end" earthenwares used either for storage or by the less affluent during the early eighteenth century. Available at the same time, and totally absent from this assemblage, are Nottingham, white salt glazed stoneware, Jackfield, and Buckley ware. Represented by only a few sherds were clouded wares and Westerwald stoneware.

There are, however, alternative approaches to explore what the assemblage can tell us about the status of the site's occupants. For example, Table 2 reveals that porcelains comprise only 0.7% of the assemblage, stonewares account for 16.4% of the collection, while 82.9% of the ceramics are earthenwares. At eighteenth century main plantation complexes owned by individuals of reduced wealth, such as Elfe (Trinkley 1985:27), Magnolia (Wayne and Dickenson 1990:11-10), and Green Grove (Carrillo 1980:Table 2), porcelains range from about 6% to 9% of the total collection. At the Broom Hall slave settlement (Trinkley 1985:179) porcelains comprise between 5.2% and 10.6% of the European ceramic assemblage — a very high proportion which likely reflects on the status of the plantation owner more than the status of the slaves themselves. Site 38BU1214 produced *no* porcelains, again suggesting strong similarity between the two sites.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the original survey which identified 38CH1107 somewhat mangled its location, misdated the occupation, and failed to offer any real understanding of the site, we are fortunate indeed that the site was found at all. Hampered by recent Hurricane Hugo debris this small scatter of historic remains would have been easy to overlook, lost in the sea of prehistoric material. Just as importantly, a survey using shovel tests placed at one hundred foot intervals is certainly not designed to identify sites which originally were tightly confined in perhaps the area of 400 square feet. It seems likely that we must be appreciative that the extensive, and intensive, plowing scattered a sufficient quantity of the remains to make the site more identifiable. We should be particularly appreciative that the original survey had the foresight to recommend the site eligible, in spite of the seemingly sparse remains. And we must be thankful that the State Historic Preservation Office supported the field archaeologist's judgement, even though the site was hardly "spectacular."

Two similar sites have been found, essentially by accident or chance, on Spring Island. One was rather amateurishly dismissed since it seemed so insignificant — almost as though it was just a few broken ceramics in the middle of the woods (Trinkley 1989). The second site (38BU1214), completely overlooked during the initial survey was fortuitously encountered during closer interval testing as part of the data recovery efforts at a surrounding prehistoric site (Hacker and Trinkley 1991). The memory of the earlier site was fortunately strong enough to provoke concern, questioning, and eventually excavations at 38BU1214. How many additional sites have either been missed, or quietly dismissed, can't even be guessed at. Likely the number is high, and still growing. Although many archaeologists criticize the attention given to the big mansions and urge that slave settlements be better investigated, archaeology has resisted implementing survey methodology which might more successfully identify these smallest sites.

Regardless, the excavations at 38CH1107 have provided a unique glimpse into a different aspect of the plantation. All of the remains present seem to suggest that the site was occupied in the very early eighteenth century. South's bracketing technique suggests a date range from 1650 to 1762 and the site's mean ceramic date is 1732. This seems to fit nicely with the historic evidence that reveals the island was being used by John Stanyarne as early as perhaps 1717 through his death in 1772. This site represents the earliest plantation occupation thus far identified on Kiawah.

This was not a "settlement," it was an isolated structure. It seems to have been situated not far from a good landing on the Kiawah River, allowing access to the "outside" world, but sufficiently back from the marsh to be somewhat insulated from the cold winds and strong breezes. Although our vision is clouded by deep plowing, we see little indication of traditional European architectural material. Only a handful of nails, two small fragments of flat glass, and a scatter of brick rubble provide any clue that a structure was even present. The archaeological remains strongly suggest, perhaps even indicate, an ephemeral structure constructed using either logs or perhaps little more than wattle, daub, and thatch.

Log dwellings have been documented from both early colonial Daufuskie and Hilton Head plantations, so such construction is not as unlikely as it might at first appear. Log houses, built with an earthen floor, would leave little subsurface evidence, all of which would be lost by even light plowing. Such a structure might even accommodate a glassed window and a brick hearth coupled with a wattle and daub chimney. But an even more ephemeral structure need not be ruled out by the flat glass and brick. The glass may represent mirror

fragments or even just salvaged materials which might be useful for some other activity. Even nails are known to have a variety of recycled uses, ranging from use as strike-a-lights with a piece of flint to awls for woodworking. The brick (and only 10 pounds were collected in the excavations, representing at most three bricks), may represent items used in an outdoor hearth, perhaps to contain the fire or even to help support a kettle or colono pots.

The archaeological collection, while dispersed over an area of nearly 20,000 square feet, seems to be concentrated in an area of only 400 square feet. Much of the observed dispersion is almost certainly the result of very deep plowing. Some, however, may be the result of the inhabitant's refuse disposal practices or even may be the result of periodic moving and rebuilding of the structure in the same general area (although admittedly only one "concentration" was identified by this study). It seems reasonable, however, that the types of structures thought to have been built at 38CH1107 would not have withstood the rigors of the southern climate for long. Between dry rot and termites it seems that the more ephemeral structure might be inhospitable, if not outright inhabitable, within a few years, while a log structure would have resisted the elements for a few years longer.

The ceramics used at the site were predominately African-American colono wares, supplemented by a small assemblage of very inexpensive European wares such as bowls, porringers,, and storage containers. A few "finer" pieces most likely represented discards from the main plantation. These were the wares of simple existence — a few pieces in which to store essentials such as lard and cornmeal and a few others in which to boil one-pot meals. Outside of the "tools" of everyday domestic life — these few kitchen items — the most common is that of tobacco pipes. All of these were plain kaolin forms, lacking any decoration or even maker's marks. Tobacco pipes were among the first items given to new slaves and tobacco seems to have played a significant role in the little time devoted to "recreation." The presence of these tobacco items is therefore not a surprise, although their prevalence in the collection may be.

Also a surprise is the relatively high proportion of arms related items. The presence of both shot and a gun part strongly suggests that the occupants of 38CH1107 had access to firearms. The presence of arms in the hands of slaves shouldn't come as much of a surprise. Although large numbers of African-American slaves were beginning to be concentrated on relatively few plantations in the early eighteenth century and some whites were beginning to express concern, it wasn't until the September 1739 Stono Rebellion that Carolina's white population was forced to recognize that slaves were not willing bondsmen. It seems likely that a weapon would have been essential in this area at this early date. Piracy continued to be a way of life into the mid-eighteenth century and isolated islands such as Kiawah would likely not have been particularly safe. Longarms would also have provided the occupants with the ability to supplement whatever staples they might have had on hand. This is certainly suggested by the presence of gaming shot.

The plowing at 38CH1107 precludes any detailed analysis of recovered faunal remains. The material is uncommon, the bones are highly fragmented and eroded, and at least for wild species it is possible to attribute them to either the prehistoric or historic component. The sample recovered reveals only the presence of deer, small mammal, fish, and pig — species which are certainly consistent with the type of shot present and the environmental situation of the site.

The site on Kiawah is clearly similar to the Spring Island example. Both exhibit a similarly ephemeral architectural style. The only real difference in the two artifact assemblages is that 38BU1214, being located in Beaufort and being slightly later in time, replaced colono wares with European ceramics. Otherwise the pattern analysis is very similar and may, in fact, represent a core of a new pattern.

The Spring Island example provided considerably better architectural information which, while not directly comparable to Kiawah, should provide some "feeling" for the type of structure present. On Spring Island:

Based on the distribution of

> mortar flooring fragments, the structure measured about 10 to 12 feet square, was built at grade, and was rudely constructed. A chimney, constructed of lathe and logs plastered with mortar, was present. The fire box, however, was small, measuring about 4 by 2.5 to 3 feet. . . . it is not possible to rule out thatch construction, although log construction is equally likely based on the sparsity of nails and the absence of other architectural hardware. A log construction is perhaps more likely given the chimney and floor construction evidence (Hacker and Trinkley 1991:108).

Both the Spring Island and Kiawah structures seem to meet the rather vague expectations of what might be associated with cattle herders or stock tenders. Located in relatively isolated areas, found as single dwellings, and associated with very few remains, they represent the lowliest of the plantation slaves (although potentially the slaves with the greatest amount of freedom).

Certainly the architectural evidence fits the description left to us by Lawson of a Bermudian hired to tend cattle and hogs on Bull Island in the very early eighteenth century:

> one side of the Roof of his House was thatch'd with Palmetto-leaves, the other open to the Heavens (Leftler 1967:14).

And at least for the Kiawah site there is clear supporting documentation that cattle ranching was taking place on the island *during the period the site was likely occupied.*

There seem to be relatively few of the sea island left undeveloped which were favored by early eighteenth century owners for use in raising stock. Consequently, it may be nearly too late to better refine this perspective pattern or identify sites with better preserved architectural and subsistence remains. If there is any hope, however, archaeology must begin to develop survey approaches which target these sites and offer some assurance of accurate identification and assessment.

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